

161 plus the excess of births over deaths were sufficient six years after
728 the conclusion of the war to bring the post-war population of the village within 200 of the pre-war level.

167 Okinawans returning to Hanashiro came largely from Japan, the Philippines, Manchuria, Formosa, the South Seas and a few from Hawaii. From Minatogawa, the areas of former settlement were broader, probably reflecting a wider activity of the fishermen. They came from Java, Palau, Singapore, the Philippine Islands, and Tarawa. Some had previously returned voluntarily from Hawaii and Peru before the war. The largest segments came from the Philippines and Tarawa, the smaller groups from Hawaii and Peru. The repatriates to Matsuda also came from Japan, the Philippines, Hawaii, and the South Seas.

571 One consequence of the pre-war emigration and of the repatriation
162 that followed was that each village after the war had a group of people who had been in foreign countries or had relatives still residing in foreign areas.

[578] In the villages studied, according to the residents living there now, repatriation was not accompanied by the tensions and the ill feeling that was so conspicuous in post-war Europe, especially Germany.
[573] There were no cliques between those who had stayed during the war and those who returned to live beside them.

[423] The reasons for this are probably these: many of the repatriates even though absent a long time owned land in a village. This was true of Hanashiro and Matsuda, the agricultural villages, and to a lesser extent of Minatogawa. Some adjustments were necessary. The land owned by these people had not been idle during their absence. If a first son returned, in most cases his younger brother was cultivating the fields and occupying the family house. He, in the absence of his eldest brother, acted as head of the house. When the first son returned, he received the possessions and assumed the responsibilities of the head of the house, and in turn gave his younger brother land to establish a branch household. When the returned member of the family was a second son, the adjustment was easier. The first son, if possible, gave his younger brother a house site and fields to cultivate.⁶

[602] Other relatives, parents, younger or older sisters, nephews, or nieces were absorbed within the family, the parents or grandparents resuming a retirement which they would have had in any case, while the younger relatives became working and contributing members to the family. They did not come back to an altogether strange place. They or their parents had been born there, and their names had remained in the village family register.

6 The reasons for these acts will be made clear in Chapter 6 on the family system.

The strong ties of the family system are probably the fundamental reasons for this lack of strangeness. One is a member of the family, even if in another part of the island or of the world. This sense of belonging, to be emphasized later, is not only an emotional feeling but is a basic fact of social organization. Relationships, regardless of their geographic spread, are a binding force. It is true that these become weaker with the remoter relationships of the extended family, but they are still strong enough to blunt the edge of individual frictions that might otherwise be expected.

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There was a niche into which a returning person might fit, whether he was a parent, a first son, an elder brother, an uncle or niece of the head of the household. The repatriates who had been long absent were, in turn, able to make an adjustment to conditions in the island of their birth because they had continued the same social system in their foreign residence. They now had to function in a more restricted and less well endowed natural environment. Dissatisfactions took the form, as they still do, of longing for better economic opportunity which they hope will be realized through further opportunities for emigration. They make comparisons, unfavorable to Okinawa, regarding the ease of making a living in other countries. Repatriates from Japan, who have returned to Okinawan rural life, miss the cities and the more exciting life of that country. Among those who have travelled, there is also a more noticeable discontent and dissatisfaction with the loneliness of rural life. The word sabishii is often on their lips.

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The ideas of the repatriated Okinawans, furthermore, are not a new phenomenon in contemporary village life. They did not bring back points of view unknown before. In the past these had been communicated by letters and rare visits to the homeland. The reports of the repatriates were richer, more detailed, and more concrete, but not completely different. They have--and this is probably one of their chief influences on post-war village life--stimulated the strong desire of the villagers to emigrate. Life is hard on the island, and their accounts of greater return for the same expenditure of work have quickened hopes of future emigration. These hopes are confined to the New World, Japan, and the Pacific Islands. There is no enthusiasm for migration to other islands in the Ryukyu chain.

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Attitudes Toward Birth Control

There is little in the religious belief or in the cultural tradition that would induce, in large segments of the population, a strong antipathy to birth control on religious grounds, but these beliefs and traditions are not favorable to it either. Respect for ancestors and the need for the continuance of the family system are the most important of these. It is the duty of each generation to provide this continuity between the past and the future. The links in this chain are male children. Once this

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Introduction

Everyone knows that the family is a most important social institution in Asiatic countries such as China, Korea, and Japan. What is not so well, nor so widely understood, is that the idea of the family is deeply involved not only with obligations and duties within a family, but also with such matters as ancestor worship, inheritance and succession, land tenure, public and private holidays, and in certain phases of community organization and of government. It is better therefore to abandon the expression family and substitute for it a term which at the outset suggests the implications and ramifications of the idea of the family. This term is the family system (kazoku seido in Japanese). The Ryukyu Islands have felt the influence of China, Korea, and Japan in many different ways and at different times. Perhaps the most important of these borrowings, ultimately from China, is the family system. 602 191 182

The family system is a series of mutual obligations and duties which members of a living generation of a family owe to one another, to those who have lived before them and who have been responsible directly or indirectly for their present condition and status, and owe also to those who will come after them to perform for their time the tasks now imposed on the contemporary generation. 602

The family system embraces the same family relationships found in countries of the west. Here as in the west, the biological family, composed of the husband, the wife, and the children, is the fundamental unit of social organization. In American society, family ties beyond the immediate biological family tend to become more fragile, and indeed often become so within the biological family itself—due in part at least to a strong tradition of individualism and greater mobility. 194

In Okinawa, the biological family is but a segment of a wider system of family relationships. These spread out not only into the contemporary extended families but find expression also in reverence for those who have lived in the past and in a feeling of responsibility for the continuation of the family into the future by assuming one's duty to prevent extinction of the family line. In the so-called ancestor worship, there is this expression of the extension of the family system throughout time. Ancestor worship, the conventional term, is not quite correct, but it conveys the general meaning desired. Actually it is not only the ancestors but all deceased relatives, including child descendants, whose memory is revered. 196

The family system is a great chain of responsibilities and obligations which extends from the remote past to the remote future and of which the living generation is the responsible contemporary representative. It is this aspect of the family system that makes it more a philosophical, ethical, or social concept than merely the descriptive term for a system

602 of contemporary relationships. The family system does not mean only family life, or a set of obligations, or a family. It is all of these, and, in addition, a historical continuity. It is an institution in which the past is constantly intruding on the present and in which the present is a combination of acts to secure one's own livelihood and well-being as well as to perpetuate the family in the future. A simple illustration will make this clear. One of the obligations of living members of a family is to observe the death anniversaries of close relatives. The last, the most important, and the most sumptuous of these observances occurs on the 33d year after the death of the relative who is mourned. Thus a grandson, most likely the first son of a first son, may end this period of memorial observances for a grandfather whom he may never have seen. There is a constant intrusion of obligations coming from the past. These, often onerous and expensive, are honored in a positive manner.

591 In the present, conscious plans are made for the continuance of the family. These are achieved through three closely inter-related devices: the succession of the first son to his father's house and, on his marriage, taking up residence at the father's home, the system of inheritance which favors the first son, and the establishment of branch households for other sons, awarding them, if the family's wealth permits, a house site and fish for cultivation.

428 311 In this way, the continuance of the main line and collateral branches of the family is provided for. If we pursue the illustration of inheritance a little further, we can think of the division of the land as an expression of the family system applied to the use and to the sharing of the available natural resources. The system of agriculture, the scattered ownership of small holdings, the attempts at land conservation and reclamation are best understood as reflections of duties and obligations to the present and future generations in the family system. If they are not seen in this way, they may appear to be isolated practices best discussed as techniques or as aspects of law and custom.

527 769 Not only in family observances but in public holidays as well, the subtle influences of the family system can be observed. Public holidays and festivals are centered on two main themes, sometimes both together: thanksgiving for good crops and reverence for those who have passed away. The holiday of O-Bon in the seventh lunar month, in which the departed dead are invited to return for a visit to the homes of their living descendants and the celebrations at lunar New Year are good examples of this.

582 621 In village life, the family system is strengthened by the high incidence of intermarriage among local kinship groups. A general lack of mobility in the villages studied has also led to the increase of immediate relatives living in the same village. This lends to community, and even to local government some of the characteristics of a wider family life. The establishment of branch families in the village of their parents

by sons other than the first reinforces this, although there are examples of branch families being established in villages away from the parental home. This intermarriage among kinship groups and the settlement of first sons and other children in the same village brings about a situation in which blood relatives or relatives by marriage are exceedingly numerous. It gives to village life cohesion and solidarity. This was very noticeable in the villages studied. Specific illustrations later will show the influences of these situations on many phases of village life.

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It is no wonder then that the family system has a strong influence on community organization and on formal government. The semi-official organizations such as the neighborhood groups (han in Japanese), the young men's association (seinen dan in Japanese), and the women's association (fujinkai in Japanese) are made up of blocs of relatives, friends, and neighbors. These circumstances blur the distinctions between the private and the public life of the family. The same is true of village government and probably accounts in large measure for democratic village government. At a wedding, at a funeral, at a birthday celebration for a child, the head of the village (kuchō in Japanese), and often the mayor of the township (sonchō in Japanese) will be present, not for political or vote catching reasons, but because he is a relative, by blood or marriage, or a personal friend of his hosts. This theme will be developed later, but it should be pointed out here that the family system, in its contemporary operations, is not only the mould for shaping the outlines of obligations and responsibilities for individuals, but that it is an important guiding principle in the conduct of community life and of formal government.

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Kinship Terminology and the Kinship System

We can now explore in more detail the mechanisms by which the family system operates. To do this, it will be well first to list the common kinship and related terms. These are the terms most often met with in conversation and which appear in the family registers (kosoki in Japanese). Kinship terminology follows the Japanese practice. Like Western usage, many terms such as grandfather, grandmother, uncle, aunt, nephew or niece refer to relatives both on the paternal and the maternal side. The chief differences lie in the rank order in which sons or daughters of a family are designated. A child ordinarily is not referred to as a son or as a daughter but as a first or second son, or a third daughter, or whatever the case may be. The most common terms, with their Japanese equivalents are listed below. The first word is the honorific term and the word in parentheses is the equivalent but less polite form. In general, the honorific is used in speaking of another's relatives, or in speaking to one older than oneself. The less polite term refers to one's own family or is used in speaking to persons younger than one's self.

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each of the villages, they seldom reach real intensity or a point where the husband sends his wife back to her parents and obtains a divorce.

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A special problem, ordinarily calling for adoption as the solution, is the situation in a family with no sons. During the child bearing ages a family tries very hard to get a son. The man with a family of daughters will resort to adoption of a male child of a relative, if at the end of a child bearing period, no sons have been born to him. But adoption, while available as a device for insuring the continuity of the family, is uncommon and does not have the importance historically attached to it in Japan. Adoption is discussed in more detail in Section 6.

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The Extended Family and its Branches

The extended family (ichimon in Japanese, munchu in Okinawan) consists of all families in the main and collateral line of descent from the common ancestor.² This ancestor, who founded the house, is an historical, or at least a supposed historical person. The descendants of the founder of the family, themselves united in a family group, are thus related to one another, though the older the family, the more remote these relationships become. Many villagers recognize that they are related to one another, but the relationships are seldom clearly defined beyond the second cousin. After this people become relatives, (shinsei or shinrui in Japanese). These words, used synonymously in Okinawa, indicate an awareness of a relationship without knowing offhand its exact nature. This problem is solved in part, as will appear later on, in Section 8, by knowing the household order name of each family, but even here individual relationships are difficult to trace.

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Contemporary lack of precise knowledge of family genealogies is due in large part to the destruction of many family records during the war. The keeping of genealogies was common, especially among the families who belonged to the old Okinawan nobility. The genealogies lost in the war are irreplaceable. The same is true of the official family registers which were also destroyed. They were replaced with ones prepared by officials personally interviewing the families involved. While this procedure succeeded in recording contemporary data with a fair degree of accuracy, it could not duplicate the minute details, going back for generations, which were recorded in the old registers.

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² Dictionaries usually define ichimon as clan, but I have avoided using this term because of ambiguities in usage. In American practice, clan has been applied to groups in which descent is reckoned through the mother. See R. H. Lowie, Primitive society, New York, 1920, 111-12. Father-sibs (Lowie's term) or family groups could be used, but the latter term suggests more a collection of families than a large unified family with many sub-families.

551 They are referred to as the son or daughter of the Little Western
 592 Ganiku house. When the sons grow up, the first son retains the same
 614 house order name, as he is perpetuating the house of his father. When
 613 his younger brothers establish a branch household, they may add another
 prefix and become known, for example, as the New Little Western Ganiku
 family.

592 The manner in which the household order names may be applied to
 614 successive generations is illustrated in the diagram which follows on the
 613 next page. Three things should be pointed out about this diagram:

(1) There is no established order in the choice of branch family designations. In column five, for example, the prefix iri for west was chosen. Any other direction could have been selected if it were not already taken. Subsequent directions or space relations taken might be east, west, south, front, behind, etc. In this illustration, the order of relationship to the main family is (a) Little Fukuji, column 2, and New Little Fukuji to show the branch family of a branch family. Succeeding branches are then indicated by repeating the previous prefixes and adding one more. Fukuji plus gwa (little), plus ni (new), plus agari (east), then substituting iri (west), to be alternated with other directional terms such as fe (south) for iri in column 6.

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(2) Some branch families are of great antiquity, such as the Fukujigwa.

• [602] (3) All these people are related but it is difficult to determine the precise relationship. It is easy to see that without an exhaustive and well kept up genealogy, even in this simplified diagram, the relationship of the last individual in the first column to his contemporary, the last individual in column 6 would be difficult to trace. This is one reason that, in all the communities, people know they are relatives but do not know the precise relationship.

On the other hand, the household order system, much more than given and surnames, is a very easy device for keeping general family relationships in mind, especially when these spread over several villages. At least the Okinawans find it so. A person with the house order name of Miagarifukujigwa would know the general relationship in the extended family of his line to the main and other branch houses, whether these were located in his own or in another village.

[193] There are additional refinements of the household order naming system. Other prefixes denoting the rank order of sons may be added, as indeed they must if the family is old and has many generations. The root word in the household order name may occasionally be identical with the surname. Some household order names may also depart from this pattern and be descriptive of previous occupations in the family history. These points are illustrated from the household order names of some

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their own and of other families was also noticeable.⁶ Often the two were used interchangeably. From an individual point of view, and this is true of all the villages, the household order name is still important because it is an indication of relationships to dead relatives whose names are on the family tablets, and to relationships, at least in general, to other families of the same main family in the village or in other villages and towns.

[178] In Matsuda, the household order naming system seems to be dying out more rapidly than in the other communities. Children here did not know the secondary names so well, and some young people did not know their own. As in Hanashiro, up to the beginning of the war, families were called together for village duties by their household order names, but this practice has been abandoned since the war. Given and surnames are now used. The household order name is still occasionally used on letters to indicate the exact person desired, another indication of the distinctions needed in the confusion of identical surnames.

[178] It is probable that the household order naming system will decline in importance because the growth and universality of education and the constant need for using given and surnames have weakened the hold of the old. As the present old people die off, many of whom know the household order name only, every segment of the population will be accustomed to the use of given and surnames.

9

Conclusion

602 The family system binds one generation to another, and, even more, gives unity to the past, present, and future of the family. It involves a well defined system of rights and obligations. It is a conservative institution in which the rights of individuals are subordinated to the welfare of the group.

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171 The conservative nature of the family system in other Oriental cultures, especially when combined, as in old China with a Confucian ethic and ancestor worship, has often been emphasized. But Confucianism, ancestor worship, and the family system are three different things.

6 I tested this in all communities by asking for directions to family houses using the family's yagō. Its present vitality is shown by the fact that in Hanashiro a native of the village and a member of the township council was able to list all the 121 yagō's without hesitation. The clerk of Minatogawa village did the same. There was not an opportunity of getting the detailed lists of the Matsuda household order names, but samplings were made.

In Japan, as well as in Okinawa, the system has been maintained without the ultra-conservative duties and regulations and the severe subordination of women associated with Confucianism in its political and social aspects. This is true at least for late nineteenth and twentieth century Okinawa, though some Confucian survivals no doubt persist.

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But the family system is also an admirably flexible institution. It need not depend for its survival on a Confucian ethic, the subordination of women, or on the arranged marriage. It does require a continuing reverence for the dead and care to insure the existence of generations to come. There is room for free choice in marriage within the general framework of the family system. There is in the family system a sense of belonging from early infancy to death, a sense of identity with the past as well as sharing in the future, an emotional security, free participation of the old in village life, mutual reinforcements coming from the performances of these obligations. These are striking characteristics of Okinawan village life. It is true that the family system in Japan has been unable to avoid many deep lying insecurities and conflicts. But in Japan there have been in recent times strong competitive situations along with the harnessing of the nation's energies to war. In Okinawa, these conditions have been lacking, at least in an intense form, until the Okinawans were in the midst of the fierce fighting of the war. The sense of security and of belonging is unmistakable in the great majority of villagers, and while this does not mean there is no dissension or that everything is serene, it does mean that the system as it has developed here has permitted a certain personal flexibility and freedom within the system. The culture also has not encouraged strong individual competition.

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The family system, with its obligations and duties, both in the individual and the extended families, is the key to an understanding, not only of the non-material, but much of the material culture as well. The social organization as it has developed within the family system has strong influences through inheritance on land tenure and land use, and on agriculture and other occupations, in addition to its influences on daily family living, religious observances, public recreation and holidays. These will be explored in the chapters to come.

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1

The Family System, Inheritance, and Succession

The family system is distinct from the inheritance of property. But in the succession of the first son to the house and in the establishment of branch families, the operation of the family system shows its effects on the practices involved in the inheritance of land and other property.

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The family system can, and actually has operated in Okinawa independently of a system of private ownership in land, and, at present its obligations are as strong on a landless villager as on one who has many fields or other property. Succession in the family system is succession to a series of rights and duties and responsibilities, much watered down, it is true, from what they once were. These rights and duties may involve the disposition of rice fields, a house site, or personal and movable property, such as the majority of Minatogawa fishermen possess in a boat, nets, hooks, and other fishing equipment.

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Since agriculture and the employment of land are fundamental to the life and economy of Okinawan villages, practices involving the inheritance of land should receive the greatest emphasis. In this chapter, land is considered in a general way, reserving for the following chapter a detailed analysis of types and grades of land based on the Okinawan township system of land classification.

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Since the first son and his succession to the house are so important to the continuity of the family, one might expect outright primogeniture in inheritance of real property. Such is not the case. The present system of inheritance of property was defined in Japanese law which provided for inheritance by sons other than the first and by daughters as well. This is based on Japanese law as it stood prior to the passage and promulgation of the Japanese land reform law of October 1946 and prior to the post-war revisions of the Japanese Civil Code.¹

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1 In this and in the following chapters, words in parentheses are, unless otherwise designated, Japanese equivalents of English terms. For an interesting historical discussion of the concepts of katoku-sōzoku (succession to house headship) and isan sōzoku (succession to property), see Hozumi, Nobushige, Ancestor worship and Japanese law. Third and revised edition, Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto, 1913, 170-87, esp. 181-82. Hozumi notes that in old Chinese history, katoku (house authority) was used as a synonym for eldest son, 172-73. On the Japanese reforms following the war, see Arthur F. Raper et al., The Japanese village in transition, (GHQ, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Natural Resources Section Report No. 136), Tokyo, 1950, 161-70, 258-61, and Laurence I. Heves Jr., Japanese Land Reform Program (GHQ, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Natural Resources Section Report No. 127), Tokyo, 1950, 9-36.

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In Hanashiro, The genya grass and shrub are essential as a substitute for firewood. In Matsuda with large areas of community owned forest, this genya is not so important to the individual family.

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In considering the inheritance of land, it is essential to understand that a family needs different types of land. Not everyone has rice paddies, but parcels of dry crop land and genya in the south are necessary to existence.

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If the practices of these three villages are indicative of the division of family holdings in general, the first son obtains between 50% and 60% of the land in addition to the house site. The remainder is divided, often equally, among the other sons. In the poorer families, if the sons are widely spaced, there may be enough left over for the second son, but when the third son reaches marriageable age, there may be nothing for him. Instances of this type were observed in the village. One young farmer of Minatogawa, a third son, said he received nothing, and set out by himself, first through wages, and then through small purchases to acquire his present modest land holdings.

This discussion may suggest a greater rigidity in the system of inheritance than is actually the case. It may give the impression of a series of families headed by the first son with most of the property and with younger sons and their branch families struggling along on what land can be spared for them. There has been, for historical reasons, more fluidity than this. The large number of heads of families who themselves are not first sons indicates that many second to fifth sons as well as daughters ultimately come into control of a family estate.

There have been four main reasons for this. (1) Emigration of first sons before they became of age. They left to earn a living in foreign countries to support their parents in the villages, became established and postponed to an indefinite future their return to Okinawa. Since the end of the war, according to relatives who are living in the village, many of these have no intention of ever returning except to visit. (2) Deaths of first sons without issue, and the succession of other sons or daughters. (3) Heavy war losses, especially of males. Some of these naturally were first sons, opening the way for the succession of young widows or second sons in the case of the unmarried first sons. (4) Deaths from catastrophes like typhoons, and in the case of Minatogawa, the losses of fishermen at sea.

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Inheritance practices with private ownership of land follow logically from the family system. They are a means of providing the economic base by saving the estate for future generations, at the same time providing where possible for sons not in the direct line of succession. Inheritance is a connecting link between the family system and land use and land tenure. Present land use and land tenure are an interesting example of the modifications that a system of social organization, the family system, has made on the natural environment.

Part 1

Minatogawa, the Fishing Community

1

Introduction

Fishing families are a closely knit group. They are usually interrelated. For the most part, the main houses of their extended families are in the fishing town of Itoman. Fathers, sons, wives, daughters, grandparents participate in some phase of fishing activity.

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In an agricultural community, the first son remains in the home working the fields of his father. In fishing, through long custom, there is an avoidance of teamwork among close relatives. Members of the immediate family will not go out on the same fishing boat. A father will not take his son, an elder brother will not take a younger. Partners and working teams on boats are more distant relatives or friends. If a father and a son are on the same boat and it is lost, the present and the succeeding head both perish. To this incontrovertible possibility, there has been added the belief that if two persons of the same immediate family go to sea together on the same boat, there will be a disaster. And actual and near disasters are frequent enough to make both points of view understandable. The sons of fishermen, who are learning the ways of the fish and of the sea, go on the boats of others. Many younger fishermen regard the belief that it is inviting disaster to have two members of the same immediate family together on the same boat as a superstition (meishin), but to my knowledge, no fisherman ignores the custom.

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In Minatogawa, about one half of the fishermen have fields of their own, usually small and poor. Perhaps twenty men in the village may be classed as half farmers and half fishermen, but even in these cases it is the wives and the children who have the continuing responsibility for the fields.

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Neither is it rare for a fisherman to be a stonecutter. Perhaps another twenty men are engaged in the summer in fishing, and in stonecutting in the winter, or on unfavorable fishing days. The three main occupations of the village, including Nagamo, are thus found in varying combinations. Fishing is the most exacting and offers few opportunities for amateurs. Stonecutting requires strength and endurance. For those who have land, agriculture offers possibilities of growing one's own food and of avoiding cash outlays.

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In an average summer month, there may be about 20 good fishing days. But because of unusual or unexpected rains or typhoons opportunities may be fewer. In 1951, there were only about ten working days in each of the summer months. In winter fishing days average about a week in a

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Free choice in marriage does not mean that the family system will disintegrate because parents have lost control in selecting mates for their children. The family system is much more likely to break down if the head of a house must assume greater responsibility for the support of relatives, or if the young leave their homes and are scattered in the towns. 582 602

Trial marriage is said to be uncommon in Okinawa, but there does not seem to be any disapproval when it appears. Perhaps trial marriage is an inappropriate word, and living together prior to an intended marriage is a better term. In one case, a young man lived with his intended wife; sometimes he brought her to his parents' home. As his duties required some travelling, the girl often went with him. In Hanashiro, this custom is not practiced. When young people live together before marriage, with the parents' consent, they help one another's families with the daily chores. 583

Some married men have relations with other women, usually widows or unmarried girls, and have children by them. This is not rare, but it is by no means considered correct behavior. In one village, the first son with his wife and children live, as is customary, with his parents, but he continues to have relations with two unmarried women by whom he has had children. All three women live in the same village, know the situation, and manage to avoid one another fairly well. Naturally the wife is much disturbed by the arrangement. The man, now about 33, has 11 children by the three women. The children of the second and third women are classified in the family registers in the mother's family as illegitimate (shisei). This is an extreme case. 837 [848]

In another community, there was an instance of the effects of war and repatriation on a marriage. Before the war this man and his wife had emigrated to Saipan. She was afraid of the bombing and decided to return to her parents' home in rural Japan, to which her husband consented. He remained in Saipan and later lived with and married the girl who was his personal servant. They returned to Okinawa; he had a child by her and is now living with her. The new family register, made up after the war, does not show the old marriage. His first wife, whom he still admires, has written him, but he has not replied. While he expressed no regrets about the loss of the first wife, he talked about the second as if she were still a servant.

In the villages, the cases of a married man living with another woman, without any formal estrangement from the real wife, are in my opinion not uncommon--with the exception of Hanashiro. As one lives in a village and gradually hears confidences, departures from strict fidelity seem more frequent than appear on the surface. There is general agreement too that illegitimacy has increased since the 848

The native medicine, including the use of plants and fish as medicines, the native doctor, the use of cauterization, the golden needle, slashing, and acupuncture, seem to be disappearing in favor of modern patent medicines and drugs, and scientific medicine, nursing, and midwifery. Of all the traditional practices (ultimately derived from China), slashing and burning with mogusa seem to have the greatest vitality.

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Tattooing

Tattooing (irezumi) in Japanese, dake in Okinawan) is a subject of great historical interest in the Ryukyu chain. In Okinawa, it exists now only among elderly women (in the late sixties and seventies), as it was forbidden by law when the Japanese annexed the islands. Tattooing usually was done on the back of the hands, including the fingers, parts of the wrist, and the knuckles. The design was put on by spreading India ink (often with sake or awamori added) on the surface, pricking out the design and wiping off the surplus, repeating the operation for the lighter parts. To my knowledge, there was no facial tattooing.

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Until quite recently tattooing was practiced on men as well. Basil Hall in 1816 wrote of a landing in the south of Okinawa island. "Most of these people had fish spears tatooed on their arms in the form of a trident, with rude barbs." On the right arm it was called (in Hall's transcription) "codeemaw," and on the left, "tooga." Apparently this was confined to fishermen. Furness in his account of the Luchus (1899) observed such markings among young and mature men in Itooman. The explanation given him was that they were a protection against evil spirits. Furness also discussed the theory that tattooing was historically connected with weaving. Simon, in an interesting speculative discussion, based on the designs of cloth in Miyako and their correspondence with house or family markings thought that the tattooing was a means of identifying women's membership in a family.

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This interesting idea unfortunately did not occur to me while in the villages, but the notion that tattooing may have been related

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7 Hall's Voyage, as cited, Vocabulary (no pagination). Hall includes sketches of the marks. Furness, Life in the Luchu islands, as cited, 9. See also Simon's extremely interesting discussion, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, as cited, 134-150. Furness and Simon are especially valuable because they personally observed instances of tattooing at a time when it was much more commonly seen. Both authors reproduce patterns which show differences among the islands and among individuals.

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to the family system, the extended family, or to the household order naming system is well worth exploring. No tattooing was observed among the Minatogawa fishermen; but this may have been an oversight. According to an old woman there, it did exist. One would expect it from the close relationship of Minatogawa to Itoman. It is quite probable, in my opinion, that tattooing of men and women have different origins.

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According to the early observers, tattooing of women took place around puberty, although Furness puts the age at 4 or 5 years. Patterns differed distinctly by island.

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In Okinawa, everywhere one hears the same explanation for the origin of women's tattooing. Although there are variants, the core of the explanation is that the Ryukyu islanders (presumably after the Satsuma conquest of 1609) tattooed their young girls to prevent their being carried off to brothels in Japan. The tattooing was supposed to have made the girls so unattractive that they were untouched. Other variations are that the tattoo indicated marriage and thus kept the girl from being taken away. An old woman of Minatogawa told of a legend (not seen or heard from any other source) in which the tattooing of women was an act of thanksgiving for a rescue at sea. A boat was sinking, and the survivors swimming saw two hands in the sky. They stopped the waves and the storm passed, permitting the swimmers to reach shore easily. The families were told, and after that the hands of the women were tattooed.

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This subject needs considerable research. It would be of great interest to know the relationship, if any, to the family system, the extended family, and the household order naming system, whether it is comparatively recent in the islands, and whether the tattooing of the fisherman is a result of Chinese or Portuguese influences and a consequence of the early Pacific trade described in Chapter II.

11

Knuckle Cracking

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One of the most puzzling of Okinawan mannerisms is the frequency of knuckle cracking. It may be observed in young children from 5 to 6 to old men and women in their seventies. It is done on so many occasions that cataloging them would be a real chore. The knuckle is cracked crisply and sharply. Young boys and girls may talk a whole evening, cracking their knuckles incessantly. It occurs in ordinary conversation, at lively parties, and during periods when a conversation lags. Children say they learned it from their mothers.

It seems a habit acquired very early. Perhaps it is an indication of tension, but I am inclined to be less specific. One Okinawan explained it as a continuation of childhood habit and ascribed it to the limberness of the fingers coming from early training on the abacus,

the tomb shaped like a horseshoe or the Greek letter, omega. A great deal of popular lore has accumulated around this type of tomb. Okinawans believe that the shape of the tomb symbolizes the position of a woman giving birth to a child. This is related to another idea, "returning to the source" (moto ni kaeru in Japanese). 764 [81]

Four different but related meanings seem to be involved in the idea of "returning to the source": (1) that life here is but a momentary experience. One's real and permanent life is in the after-world. At death one returns to his permanent home. (2) After death a person becomes a god (hotoke-san) in the Buddhist sense. He reaches this state 49 days after death, according to some explanations, though there is much confusion on this point. This godhood is a "return to the source." (3) At death one returns to a state of peace, and (4) one returns to a former state or to a former place. It is with this last meaning that the turtleback tomb is associated in popular lore with "returning to the source." 761 775

On death one returns to the womb of nature from which he came. (Similar lore has collected around the Buddhist coffin in which the corpse is put in a position like that of a child in the womb). Whether the popular explanation is the true one is very hard to say. It certainly should not be accepted without critically evaluating the questions which such an explanation raises. Early European and American observers were quick to point out the similarities between those tombs and those of China, though the fact that they were introduced from China does not rule out the symbolic meaning they might have. Many Okinawans regard these tombs as indigenous. But the Okinawan antiquarians, who so love to find symbols in everything, would be loathe to surrender this lore. It is generally agreed that the tombs were introduced from Fukien province in China. Captain Basil Hall was the first western traveller, I think, to notice the similarity between Okinawan and Fukien tombs. He also mentioned it. 775 764 811 [114] [171] [177]

The gable (hafu) type of tomb is very common. There are also small temporary tombs of masonry, more often built of rocks. The tombs of Minatogawa are of this type. There are also very old tombs, hollowed out of the rock of a hillside. These were rare in the villages. Only one was seen in the dense vegetation and undergrowth at the bottom of a deep ravine in the center of Matsuda. Large tombs hollowed out of hillsides are a commonplace, but the small ones apparently were the tombs of the very poor. Recently a new small tomb is being built by families unwilling to undergo the expense of the larger tombs. Tombs, though appearing to be haphazardly placed on mountains or on rocky hillsides, are on privately owned land. 764 [565]

The tombs may also be classified as to use, that is, whether they are intended for a single or the extended family. In Hamashiro, tombs are of the extended family type, located on land owned by the main family. They are the responsibility of the head of the main family. Branch families may contribute to the purchase price of the land, construction materials, and to maintenance. 764 602

000 construction materials, and to maintenance.

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766 In an earlier chapter, a villager's remark was quoted to the effect that Minatogawa was a branch family of Itoman. This is well illustrated in the burial customs of this village. Both children and adults are placed in a simple, temporary tomb, usually along the coast near the stonemaking area. Later the tomb is opened, the bones washed, and sent to Itoman. The transfer of the remains from the temporary tombs of the village to the extended family tomb in Itoman may be done at a time when it is necessary to open the Itoman tomb because of the death of a member of the extended family there. There is no second funeral. The cleaned bones are put in a box. There are short prayers before the opened Itoman tomb, the bones placed inside, and the box discarded.

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602 In the adjoining village of Nagamo, burial customs are similar to those of Hanashiro. Nagamo has three different kinds of tombs: (1) large gable and turtleback extended family types, (2) a similar large tomb for a single family, and (3) small tombs for individual families.

The tombs of Hatsuda also are mainly of the extended family type. There are examples here of the turtleback, the gable, and the new small tomb. They are scattered throughout the village area, sometimes on the summit of a hill whose slopes are given over to terraced rice fields or dry cropping. Not all families own tombs; for reasons of economy, the small tomb for individual burial is becoming more frequent.

765 In all the villages, after the coffin is put inside the tomb, it is left there for about three years. The tomb is reopened, the bones are removed from the coffin, washed, and put back in the tomb, tasks done by female relatives of the deceased, usually women over 40 years old. This three year period is not a set one. If a later death occurs in the family, the coffin may be opened at that time. An old custom of placing the bones in an urn after they are taken from the coffin has been abandoned. Basil Hall has some interesting comments on these old Okinawan urns.

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Observances in Memory of the Dead

765 Observances in memory of the dead are held in all villages on the 1st, 7th, 11th, 21st, 28th, 35th, 42nd, and 49th day after death, and on 769 the 1st, 3rd, 7th, 13th, 25th, and 33rd anniversary of death.

765 The simple observances and prayers at the tomb on the day following burial have already been mentioned. At the home, temporary memorial tablets made of white paper (shiroihai) are prepared to be replaced later with permanent red memorial tablets on the Buddhist god shelf. Both at home and at the tomb only relatives or close friends participate in the prayers and food offerings.

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Ancestor Worship

"Ancestor worship" has been used to describe the devotion to the spirit of the dead and the long continued remembrance of them by the living. While it is too deeply entrenched to be changed, the term is not satisfactory. It is really the worship of those who precede one in death, and these may be ascendants or descendants. The term, "ancestor worship," also conceals the fact that there is a partnership of the living and the dead, which, continued by the living generation in the production of children, will carry over in the future, so that family continuity from the remote past to the remote future is never broken. It is, in the phrase of John Hubbard, "a chain of worship,"² not merely the worship of the past and of the dead. But whether in the popular mind these two conceptions, worship of the dead and the family as a continuity, are closely and consciously related is impossible for me to say. The two ideas exist side by side on the level of feeling: to respect one's ancestors and to have children.

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Another form of ancestor worship occurs in observances honoring the first ancestor or the founder of the village. Each village has a place of the guardian god (ujigami), located on the supposed site where the founder of the village first settled, which perpetuates the memory of the founder, who may, in some cases, also be the first ancestor of a family living in the village. (It has been suggested that the ujigami also might be related historically to the fire deity). Ceremonies at the place of the village guardian god have a public character and were often conducted by the priestesses.

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Hanashiro. The place of the guardian god, a small building, is located on a plot of village owned land, off the main road at the edge of the settlement where the cultivated land begins. It is not well kept up. There is no attendant or caretaker. When necessary, it is reconstructed by volunteer village effort. Broken stone stairs lead up to the small tile roofed building. Inside, there are 5 stones, about 10 inches on the side and 4 inches thick. Some have thought these also represent the primitive hearth stones associated with worship of the fire god. One villager described it as a woman's deity place. Before the war, emigrants to the South Seas, South America, Manchuria, or Japan and their relatives prayed here for the good health and early return of those departing.

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Now there is public worship at the place on several occasions during the year. On the 3rd day of the 3rd month, a woman's holiday, women and children go to the seashore around Minatogawa, and, on returning, pray at the place of the guardian god. On O-Bon, the village lion appears in front of this site. There is samisen playing and the whole village offers a prayer. (Not all villages have the lion costume.

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2 Quoted in L. Cranmer-Byng, The vision of Asia, New York, 1933, 42.

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the decades, as the branches grow into unilineal descent lines of their own, new "main" houses are formed. 613

Originally descriptive names were given to each household. These names indicated a "stem" family or one of its branches. The "Big East House," a reference to the lineage as well as to the homestead itself, probably split into several branches. These, the homes of younger sons, were known as "Little East House," or by a further derivative, "Behind Little East House." Sometimes the rank order of a younger son was used to name his house, such as "Second East House." This house order system is no longer in existence in Taira, but a few of the names are still in use to indicate houses, and individuals are frequently referred to as "the person of such and such a house," for instance, "the grandmother of the East House." *

Although every individual is aware of his membership in a "main house," these descent groups have little importance except in religious life and death ceremonies. Members of the same "main house" revere common male ancestors and share in the upkeep of a common tomb in which their remains are placed at death. Funerals and the veneration of deceased members of the "main house" bring the kin group together several times a year. Women, although entombed with their husbands, visit the "main house" of their father to pray before his ancestors' tablets and make offerings. If they were born in Taira, they may first take offerings of rice and sake to the shrine of their husband's paternal ancestors; then later in the day they prepare for a ceremony in their own "main house." 613 769

The descent group also functions in other religious contexts. The oldest woman of the main house acts as priestess for the lineage, and she or another older female may visit the sick and assist their relatives with prayers and practical help. Descent group affiliation does not affect such daily concerns as lending help to others in economic tasks, though some of the descendants of early Taira settlers seem to feel more obligation in this respect than members of the more recently arrived lineages. Lineage affiliation does not determine the choice of a marriage partner. However, although members of the same "main house" or lineage may marry each other provided they are not first cousins, such unions are rare. Marriage with maternal first cousins is also forbidden. 613 [794] [476] [582]

An individual also holds membership in other kin groups which have only a loose structure and few functions. These are the relatives 602 [476]

* Individual surnames among commoners are of recent date, introduced after the Japanese assumed administrative control and required their adoption to establish a population registry. Family names had been in use among the Shuri gentry. 551 177 217

418 Six Cultures: Studies of Child Rearing

● 602 on one's mother's side and, after marriage, the wife's family. In seek-
476 ing mutual assistance for rice planting, house building and other under-
takings, such relatives may be approached. In other words, kin, neigh-
bors, and members of the same geographical section of the village
participate almost equally in mutual assistance groups. Maternal rela-
tives join in family celebrations and in the discussion of family matters.
Since many decisions are made jointly with the help of relatives, there
are frequent occasions for the kindred to gather in the evening at one
house or another.

561 Each Okinawan also belongs to an age group. As will be described
in the section on socialization, beginning at kindergarten an Okinawan
becomes associated with a group of boys and girls who will remain his
575 companions through school. As a member of junior high school he
633 will join the formal Student's Association, which is responsible for
certain community projects. High school students and all unmarried
young adults belong to the Young People's Association, which is both
a social group and a cooperative work group.

575 After marriage there are several associations which one may join.
185 Adult married women who are under 57 belong to the Women's Asso-
562 ciation, which is affiliated with an island organization dedicated to
"modernizing" women's lives. The organization is lead by a few women
who are in contact with the district and island organization. They
attempt at semisocial gatherings to introduce changes aimed at easing
[262] the burdens of daily life and the pressure of poverty. For example,
they are trying to influence the women to return to making their own
bean paste rather than spending precious cash. The leaders show the
women how to make bean paste and encourage them to set aside one
work-free day a month to catch up with neglected housework. Many
of the efforts of the organization, however, are not too successful. Most
women go back to their homes and find that the accustomed ways are
easier to follow. One has learned to live with economic pressures and
tradition and established custom is a strong force. So the few forward-
looking women have a difficult task in rallying others.

Both adult married males and females may also join an organization
similar in objective—the Home Improvement group. Although the
men who are village leaders belong to this association, the majority
of the members are the same women who are leaders in the Women's
Association.

575 Before World War II there was an association of older men.* Al-
887 though this group seldom, if ever, meets, it still sends a representative
623 to the village council and to a few village functions.

* Apparently of relatively recent origin.

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the wife takes charge of household funds while her husband controls larger spendings.

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Many quarrels between couples originate from financial matters. Disagreements happen frequently when a husband returns home intoxicated late at night. His wife may blame him for using money which she has put aside for a special purchase; from this incident the argument turns to family finances in general. As words become more heated, the woman holds her own, telling her husband in no uncertain terms that he is a squanderer. Some husbands settle such an argument by hitting their wives.

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Decisions are seldom made by one person in the family. The more important the issue involved, the more people within the family are consulted. A husband and wife may discuss whether to buy or sell a pig and make a joint decision. They also decide mutually on the buying of seed rice and other agricultural matters. Men concern themselves with the building of new structures or the addition to old ones. On the other hand, women make decisions affecting the daily life of children. They determine if a child needs new clothes, if he should be taken to the doctor, or accompany the mother on a shopping trip to the city. Some fathers take an interest in their children's study habits and accomplishments at school, but few are consistent in supervising their children in this respect. Here, too, mothers seem to have a much greater influence. Girls are likely to receive even less attention from their fathers than boys. In cases of decisions that can vitally affect the future of the whole household, members of the husband's and wife's family, if they live in the village, gather to discuss plans.

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Although women are less active politically than men, they participate in village meetings as representatives for their families. With the exception of the Women's Association leaders, their participation is more passive than that of the men. But although they seldom speak in public and sit together at the back of the meeting, women nevertheless exert a great deal of influence on community affairs. Their influence is felt even more in meetings of mutual finance associations.

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It is unlikely at this point that a woman in the village would run for political office. Several recent developments, however, indicate a steady increase in their political participation. The headman who was elected to office in 1955 is responsible for an innovation which reflects this trend. He selected his clerk by means of a competitive examination which was open to both young men and young women. Two girls who had graduated from high school were among the candidates. They were defeated by a young man to whom the job was given because of

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The yard in which the Okinawan home stands is also rather uniform in its appearance. It is usually surrounded by a stone wall or a thick hedge for protection against winds. Inside the gate is a himpung, a short wall that prevents one from looking straight through the gate into the house. The space between the himpung and the house is hard earth; this is where mats are spread for drying grain and where many other household tasks are performed. This yard space may be lined on one or both sides with outbuildings for the storage of tools and crops and for housing livestock---two or three goats, and here and there an ox or a horse. Behind the house is a pigsty. There may also be a chicken-coop, but chickens often run loose. There are usually a few trees in the yard, often a clump of bananas. Behind the house is also the toilet; formerly it was combined with the pigsty, but now it is usually an oil-drum. In many villages every house has its own well, but even where wells are fewer there is almost sure to be a cistern beside the house to catch rain-water. The house and yard will be discussed again later in relation to sanitation and health (see Chapter IX).¹

The social unit that occupies such a house and yard is the family. The structure of the family is also dealt with in detail by Pitts in Chapter VII. Let it suffice to say here that ideally the first son stays with his parents after his marriage while younger sons establish separate households. Thus the family consists of a couple and their unmarried children or a couple with a married first son, his wife and children, and his unmarried brothers and sisters. The deaths of one or more members may reduce the family without breaking it up. Two married couples, parents and grandparents of the youngest generation, is the usual maximum. If two married sons live under the same roof it is usually regarded as a temporary expedient. Thus while the total number of persons in the household may be as many as a dozen, the average number is a little less than five.

The family, that is, the members of the household, is an economic unit, a social unit, and a ceremonial unit. As an economic unit the members of a household work together, producing for and consuming from a common stock. They cooperate with other households on the basis of common interest as neighbors. They form a social unit within the "han", the "ku", and the "son", they are registered as a unit in the "koseki", and may have only one vote---cast by the head of the house---in local elections. As a ceremonial unit they form part of a numbered and graded system based on common descent.

The Structure of Kinship Relations In traditional Okinawan society, as in other societies of East Asia, the fundamental unit is the family and the basic axis within the family is a vertical one running through the male line, the father-oldest son axis.² The basic values that support this structure are unity and continuity. Individuals are of varying importance to the family depending on their closeness to the father-first son axis; females are less important than males; younger sons

¹ For a more detailed account of the house and yard see Glacken, 1953, Chapter 5.

² I have borrowed this concept from Francis L. K. Hsu, to whose writings I am indebted.

593 are less important than older sons. The security of the individual depends upon his closeness to this axis. Yet most can attain security. Younger sons grow up to establish families of their own. Daughters grow up to marry and become the means whereby other men establish families. If a man has no son he readily adopts one from among his brothers' or cousins' sons and so the continuity is maintained.

593 This structure is in sharp contrast to that of present-day American society. In American society the individual, not the family, is felt to be the basic unit. The basic axis is horizontal, the husband-wife axis. The values are on affection between the married couple, responsibility toward minor children, and impartiality toward them. The responsibility of parents ends when the children grow up. There is little continuity. The individual can expect equal treatment but cannot expect lasting security within the family. He finds his family ties cut once when he grows up, once again when his children grow up. The only permanent tie is with husband or wife and hence the only permanent security within the family is through marital bond. Hence in American society there is an increasing emphasis on romantic love and an increasing tendency to look for security through it.

593 The relationship of husband and wife in Okinawan society is quite different from that in American society with its comradeship and equality. In Okinawan society the traditional marriage is arranged by the family. Its primary function is to provide for the continuity of the family units and if possible to produce more units like it. The satisfaction of individual needs is only a secondary function. At marriage a woman enters the family of her husband, where she hopes to produce an heir for him and more besides. Her position is subordinate; she must be submissive to him and to his parents. She expects to work hard. Her husband also expects to work hard, for he is obligated to provide his descendants and his ancestors with their needs, but if he also has the means to seek pleasure outside the home he is not only free to do so, but is expected to do so.

593 As one might expect, the relationship between parents and children is very close. Okinawan parents live more intimately with their children than do American parents; they carry them around, sleep with them, and fondle them a great deal. And from the American point of view they spoil them. At the same time they seem to regard children as not quite human, and treat them at times with what to an American seems like heartless cruelty. Also they differentiate clearly on the basis of future importance to the family and the maintenance of its continuity; the first son, who will inherit his father's status, is given more consideration than younger sons; daughters, who will eventually leave the family entirely, are given less consideration---and more chores, to prepare them for future status as daughters-in-law---than are sons. Children are expected to respect their parents and to care for them when they are old. Parents are expected to love their children and care for them when they are young. The responsibility of a parent toward a minor child is not as great as in the United States; for example, in an emergency a parent may sell a child (this may be in conflict with the present law but it is not in conflict with the mores of impoverished Okinawan farmers). Both this responsibility does not end with the child's attaining majority. In the case

allotment system was now entered in the newly-created land registries as the property of the household head. In the past inheritance of the position of household head by the first son had been largely a matter of status succession involving leadership of the family and certain ceremonial obligations. Property succession had not been an important factor, for the private property of the family had usually amounted to no more than the family house and lot. Under the old land allotment system there was always land available for younger sons who set up independent houses, but under Japanese law the bulk of the family property was inherited by the first son. What had been the function of the community in the past now became the responsibility of the family, and since family holdings were usually small, the younger sons were often landless. Informants stated that a father will usually do everything possible to provide his younger sons with land, but he cannot do this if it means jeopardizing the resources of the house. Continuation of the family line for the purpose of continuity in worshipping the ancestors is the chief responsibility incumbent on the household head, and in the rural areas the land provides the major support for the house. With the rise in population there developed an increasing trend for younger sons to emigrate from the rural areas in search of land or jobs elsewhere. The end result was a considerable weakening of family and especially kin group ties and a rapid decline in the communal character of the rural villages. [175] [648] [602] [621]

Though the creation of private property made possible the sale, purchase, and rental of land, landlordism never gained a foothold on Okinawa. Undoubtedly this is primarily due to the recency of private property and the lack of time for large accumulations of land to be made. It is also in part due to a lack of capital in the rural areas; most capital on Okinawa after the annexation and before World War II was confined to the hands of Japanese businessmen and members of the former upper classes who seemed disinclined to invest in land. Likewise the official Japanese attitude toward Okinawa was to regard it as a rather backward part of Japan not to be exploited as a colonial dependency as in the case of Formosa and Korea. Glacken has suggested that the heavy fragmentation of the typical Okinawan farm would be an obstacle to its sale; yet, the Chinese farmland is also highly fragmented and landlordism has been common there for centuries. [175] [423] [429] [477] [648] [171]

After the abolition of the communal allotment system taxes were extended to cover all categories of land whereas previously they had been applied only to arable land; however, government income from land taxes sharply declined, as the moderate levies of the Japanese administration were considerably below those of the Okinawan monarchy. Despite this reduction in tax load there has been a steady decline in the amount of land cultivated since the termination of the old land system; this is clearly shown in Tables III and IV in Chapter III, Agricultural History, Land Use and Diet. [175] [423] [651] [311]

3. World War II and the American Occupation

During World War II Okinawa became the scene of one of the most violent battles of modern times. The entire island was turned into a combat

¹ Glacken, 1951, p. 160.

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isolation of the farm village gradually decreased under a national system of education, but the process did not end with schooling. Upon graduating, the youth, male and female, were enrolled in a national young people's association. Later the young men were drafted for service in the national army, and following discharge the veteran was enlisted in a local reserve association which met frequently for military and social purposes. When a man married, established a separate house, and began farming, membership in the farmer's association was automatically conferred. His wife upon marriage transferred from the young women's association to the women's association. There were, in fact, a variety of national organizations covering the various phases and roles of the individual's life; membership was never a matter of choice, but a thing automatically conferred. A stress on patriotism was a strong concomitant in all of these. Membership gave to the individual a sense of participating in a national society extending far beyond the limits of his small village. 177 619 525 [202]

It should be stressed that most Okinawans regard the Japanese as providers of modern, enlightened government. The Japanese administration abolished the old class divisions and freed the peasant from his serf-like status. Taxes on arable land were substantially reduced, and the villager for the first time was given some voice in government above the village level. Modern law courts were introduced and justice was administered impartially, not on a class basis as was formerly done. 177 829 [565] 671

Inadvertently, perhaps, official Japanese policy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the farm village. Prior to the land reform, sugar production did not exceed local needs, but government encouragement and subsidy so increased production that by the time of World War II it exceeded consumption by 900%. This resulted in a food shortage which necessitated heavy importations of basic cereals to compensate. 177 621 433

Japanese manufactured goods also contributed to the decline in self-sufficiency. Factory-made cloth gradually displaced home-woven fabrics, and accordingly cotton and fiber banana were no longer raised. The tools, utensils, and machines of the factory slowly replaced the simpler devices used in the village. 177 439 433 [248]

Abolition of the system of communal land tenure contributed to a weakening of the family and particularly of the large extended kin group. The introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance served to create a landless element which often emigrated from Okinawa in search of land or jobs elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group had clustered in certain localities, they now became dispersed over great areas, making continued interaction difficult and often impossible. 177 602 423 [167]

Sixty-six years of Japanese rule resulted in a fairly successful amalgamation of Okinawa into the Japanese state; though the Okinawan language and culture were not destroyed, they were severely altered. 177

Impact of World War II and the American Occupation The war destroyed virtually all of rural and urban Okinawa, and resulted in the death of twenty percent of the population. 727